

# Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## BBC TRIBUTE TO DICK SHEPPARD

"The Human Person" who founded the Peace Pledge Union

LISTENERS to the BBC Home Service on Sunday heard Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, tell how Dick Sheppard founded the movement which is now the British section of the War Resisters' International.

Given the opportunity of making the longest individual "live" contribution to a documentary programme in memory of Canon H. R. L. Sheppard, Stuart Morris graphically described the events which followed Dick Sheppard's famous letter to the Press in the year 1934.

In the letter, which was read during the programme, Dick Sheppard asked the men of Britain to "send a postcard to me within the next fortnight to say if they are willing to be called together in the near future to vote in support of a resolution as uncompromising as the following:

"We renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will we support or sanction another."

"What was the result of this letter?" the narrator, the Rev. Austen Williams, present vicar of St. Martin's, asked Stuart Morris.

"He was out of the country when the letter went to the Press," Stuart Morris replied.

### Albert Hall

"He had asked that replies should be sent to General Crozier's house at Walton. You can imagine how eagerly the General waited for the post on October 17, 1934. To his dismay there was not a single reply. While he was wondering how to break the news to Dick Sheppard, knowing it would break his heart, there was a knock at the door. It was the Walton postmaster, who said: 'You might have given me some warning of this. There is a van load of postcards addressed here coming up the road.'

"So although only three of the London dailies printed the letter, the response was immediate and considerable. From that moment cards arrived by every post until there must have been over 25,000 to greet Dick Sheppard on his return."

NARRATOR: "What was his reaction?"

"His next step was to arrange a demonstration in the Albert Hall in July, 1935. The signatories poured in from every part of the country and packed the hall. That meeting was to be repeated in November, 1936, when an overflow meeting was necessary, and perhaps only Dick Sheppard could have filled the Albert Hall to capacity and needed an overflow. So although in his letter he had said that it was not his idea to form a new organisation, he could no longer regard the response as a kind of private venture."

"Because of its numerical and moral strength it had become a national movement to which Dick Sheppard gave the name Peace Pledge Union, and made the one condition of membership the signing of the

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# TAKE THE FIRST STEPS NOW!

"Drop out of the arms race"—MP  
"Not delivering the goods"—Quakers

A WARNING AGAINST CLOSER CO-OPERATION WITH THE USA "IN THE FUTILITIES OF AN ENORMOUSLY EXPENSIVE ARMS RACE" WAS GIVEN BY EMRYS HUGHES, M.P., IN THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN ON TUESDAY.

His letter to that paper followed the publication of an earlier warning by British Quakers that "the arms race is not delivering the goods," and an appeal for Britain to take the first steps in creating the trust on which disarmament depends by—

1. Stopping all H-bomb and missile tests;
2. Stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons;
3. Inviting foreign inspectors to see for themselves what the British are doing.

### "STOP TESTS"

Vigil in Washington begins today

A ONE-MONTH "prayer and conscience vigil" begins in the capital of the USA today with the object of persuading the American Government to call off the nuclear weapon tests announced for April at Eniwetok in the Pacific.

After a public meeting in Plymouth Congregational Church at 17th and P Streets, a group will gather in the Vigil Room for prayer and meditation which it is hoped will be maintained throughout the month.

#### Prayer and meditation

The centre of Vigil activities is near the corner of 17th and N Streets, in the northwest section of Washington. One block away is the National Presbyterian Church, famous as the church where the President worships.

"November 11, formerly Armistice Day and now Veterans' Day, is suggested as a time when some local counterpart of the Washington Vigil might be held," Lawrence Scott told Peace News this week.

Among proposals that might be considered would be some observance, including prayer and meditation; and some form of public witness, such as visits to key opinion makers, poster walks or leaflet distributions, public meetings or protests at atomic installations.

Many of those taking part in the Vigil went out to the Nevada atomic test site recently for a protest there.

The text of the Quaker appeal appears in the next column.

Emrys Hughes was answering the Guardian's assertion that "unless there is genuinely fuller co-operation with the United States than in the past, Britain may have to drop out of sharing in the deterrent."

"If the facts are as outlined in your article," Emrys Hughes replied, "then surely you have already made out a case why we should drop out of attempting to share with the United States a Western policy for continuing the arms race in the H-bomb age."

"For you have told us that within perhaps three or four years the Government at Moscow may have at its disposal enough missiles to hit all, or nearly all, the main bases of retaliation instantaneously, thus underlining what Mr. Khrushchov told the New York Times about the coming obsolescence of bomber and fighter aircraft."

#### Five minutes' warning

Emrys Hughes continued:

"As Britain is one of the main bases of the West this means that we would be destroyed in about five minutes, or about the time it takes the House of Commons to say its prayers."

"Five minutes is also all the warning our Civil Defence experts tell us we will get for evacuating twelve million people, leaving the male population and the women without children, the potential mothers of the next generation, where they are."

"It is interesting to note also that the British Admiralty takes the view that the

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## WINDSCALE AND BIKINI

By Sheila Jones

Secretary, National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests

WHATEVER the findings of Sir William Penney's committee, the accident at Windscale has been a practical demonstration to people in this country of the effects of radio-active fall-out.

The thousands of gallons of milk poured down the drain, the contaminated vegetables and livestock must surely have brought home to us the dangers of letting loose radio-active products over the countryside.

Perhaps also people in this country will more readily appreciate the fears felt in Eastern countries, where ill-effects from radio-active fall-out, due to nuclear tests carried out in the Pacific and Russia, have been experienced to a much greater degree.

Indeed, the Japanese people and the Marshall Islanders have suffered far more serious effects than those demonstrated at Windscale. Radiation sickness, skin lesions

and other painful effects were experienced after the Bikini tests in 1954, and ever since then the Japanese people have lived in constant fear that their food and water supplies would be contaminated as a result of the continuation of nuclear tests by America, Russia and Britain.

These fears would appear to have more justification than those of the people living near Windscale, since measurements have shown dangerous concentrations of radioactivity in food supplies in Japan. In particular, their supply of fish, which is a basic food, has been affected.

The nuclear tests which Britain is shortly to carry out in the Pacific will undoubtedly add to the level of radio-active fall-out throughout the world, which has recently been contributed to by the American and Russian tests. Perhaps the Windscale incident will at least draw public attention in this country to the radiation hazards involved in the continuation of tests.

### WHY do we need disarmament?

BECAUSE the armaments race in which we are now engaged will ruin us if allowed to continue.

We need money for schools, roads, hospitals, old-age pensions, social services.

We need money to invest in the less developed countries where many millions of people live in disease and hunger.

BECAUSE the arms race is not delivering the goods—we do not feel any safer.

The Defence Minister has stated that Great Britain cannot be defended against the new weapons and missiles. He has drawn the conclusion: "There will be no real safety in the world until there is disarmament."

### WHY do we not get disarmament?

BECAUSE the Great Powers do not trust each other to carry out agreements and do not trust each other's inspectors on their territory.

BECAUSE the Great Powers continue to test and perfect new weapons and to build up stocks of H-bombs in case disarmament negotiations fail—thus making disarmament more difficult.

BECAUSE the Great Powers are determined to defend and expand their positions of political influence and economic privilege.

### WHAT must we do to get disarmament?

Seek to CREATE the Trust on which disarmament depends.

Take the first steps on our own:

1. Stop all H-bomb and missile tests.

2. Stop manufacturing nuclear weapons.

3. Invite foreign inspectors to see for themselves what we are doing.

Some nation must take the risk of beginning to disarm to avoid the greater risk of the H-bomb.

This statement has been issued in leaflet form, obtainable from the Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, or the Northern Friends Peace Board, Station Road, Ackworth, Yorks, at 4s. per 100.

### Destroy bomb stocks—Co-op

A BOLISH further tests, stop the production of nuclear weapons, destroy existing stocks of atomic and hydrogen bombs. These demands are made in a resolution to be moved at the London Co-operative Party's Annual Conference which meets on November 16 and 17.

The resolution, which stands in the names of Barking and Southend parties, goes on to call for "all efforts to be concentrated on the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes," for international co-operation and for the exchange of ideas and practical information already in the hands of interested nations.

## Peace and the world's Faiths

**By Dr. F. D. Meyer-Klugel**

The author is a Doctor of Laws of Göttingen University in Germany. Threatened with concentration camp for his opposition to Nazism, he had to leave his post as ecclesiastical lawyer and barrister in 1935. He came to Britain with his family and became a minister of a German-speaking Free Reformed congregation. He is at present in Cork, Republic of Ireland, in the Unitarian Ministry.

**IN our so-called "Christian" Western World**—just as if it were "heathen lands where darkness broodeth yet"—war is a firmly established institution as a means of asserting a nation's claims when other methods prove inadequate or inexpedient.

All the great teachers of mankind, however, all over the world throughout the ages are of one accord that if men want to have peace and happiness they have to keep certain very simple rules.

### GOLDEN RULE

First, there is the Golden Rule, to do as we would be done by. It is found in all the great religions of the world. Here are their various versions:

**Christianity:** "Whatever you would have men do to you, do you just the same to them" (Matthew 7:12).

**Hinduism:** "Do naught to others which if done to thee would cause thee pain" (Mahabharata 5:15-17).

**Taoism:** "Regard your neighbour's gain as your own gain, and regard your neighbour's loss as your own loss" (T'ai Shang Kan Yin P'ien).

**Buddhism:** "Hurt not others with that which pains yourself" (Udanavarga 5:18).

**Confucianism:** "Do not unto others what you would not that they should do unto you" (Analects 15:23).

**Jainism:** "In happiness and suffering, in joy and grief, we should regard all creatures as we regard our own self, and should therefore refrain from inflicting upon others such injury as would appear undesirable to us if inflicted upon ourselves" (Yogashastra 2:20).

**Sikhism:** "As thou deemest thyself so deem others. Then shalt thou become partner in Heaven" (Kabir).

**Zoroastrianism:** "That nature only is good when it shall not do unto another whatever is not good for its own self" (Dadistan-i-dinik 94:5).

**Judaism:** "What is hurtful to yourself do not to your fellow man" (Talmud).

**Mohammedanism:** "No one of you is a believer until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself" (Traditions).

If men kept this Golden Rule they would have peace in their hearts and peace on earth.

Jesus, in all his life and teaching, was opposed to all violence and war. "Blessed are the peacemakers," He said, "for they are God's children" (Matthew 5: 9). He did not fight for His most righteous cause with weapons of warfare, but, on the con-

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trary, He stopped His disciples from using violence, saying: "All who draw the sword shall perish by the sword" (Matthew 26: 53).

### GOOD FOR EVIL

Paul said: "Never pay back evil for evil, but overcome evil by goodness" (Rom. 12: 17-21).

Lao-Tse taught the same: "I would return good for good; I would also return good for evil" (Book of Tao).

So did Buddha: "Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good, let him overcome the greedy by generosity, the liar by truth" (Dhammapada).

Pharaoh Akhenaton of Ancient Egypt refused to resort to war. Peace was one of the great principles of his religious reform by which he tried to restore true spirituality and the worship of the only one true God.



**BUDDHA** condemned war and violence of every kind as being always the result of selfish desire that is bound to end in all-round destruction, because it inevitably leads to more and more violence and war. He said:

"The slayer meets a slayer in his turn, the conqueror one who conquers him, the abuser wins abuse, the annoyer annoys."

"What love can a man possess who believes that the destruction of life can atone for evil deeds? Can a new wrong expiate old wrongs?

There is only one way to break the chain of wrong, and that is the way of love and service. It is not an easy way. There is much to dare and much to bear, but in the end peace is won. Thus Buddha said: "Conquest engenders hate, the conquered lives in misery. But who so is at peace and passionless, happily does he live; conquest has he abandoned and defeat."

And he summed up this message of peace in the words: "Hateds are not quenched by hatred. Hateds are only quenched by love." (Dhammapada) Putting these ideas into practice, he told his followers, when they questioned him as to property which they might possess: "I allow you all kinds of brassware, except weapons."

As Ancient Egypt had her great peace-making pharaoh, Akhenaton, so Buddhism too can boast of a king who actually applied the doctrine of gentleness in all affairs of State. Asoka proved to the world that non-violence and peacefulness are a practicable proposition, provided men are daring enough to try it. Under this king India was united and at peace. He gave up all warfare and relied only on righteousness. His reign is still called the Golden Age of India, and it is a historical fact, not just a pious legend.

### GOOD NEWS OF PEACE

In China it was Lao-Tse who pleaded for the abolition of all war and violence, saying:

"Weapons are unblessed instruments. Therefore, he who strives for the Eternal will not employ them." (Book of Tao.)

And "All men are brothers throughout the Four Seas" is one of the great utterances attributed to Confucius, under whom the first international disarmament conference, consisting of ten leading nations, was held (546 B.C.).

Among the Prophets of Israel we have particularly Isaiah, with his famous visions of peace on earth and gentleness that will include even the beasts of prey.

This is the Good News of Peace which all the great and good men and women of the human race have taught. Wherever they lived, to whatever age or race or faith they have belonged, they all have said the same thing, and if men are left free to think, and if they are willing to think honestly and to behave lovingly, they will all come in the end to believe this same thing. For God is one God, and we all are His children. And as we move nearer to Him, we move nearer to one another; and as we move nearer to one another, we move nearer to Him. "For in Him we live and move and have our being."

## A SOLDIER'S RELIGION

**By Reginald Reynolds**

MANY years ago my brother Roland, who has never shared my views on war, but has had, like me, a chequered career, decided to join the Tank Corps. His experiences as he related them to me at the time, seemed to my mind significant and instructive—so much so that I made some immediate notes of what he told me.

This brief, tattered manuscript has long been in the portfolio which invariably accompanies me, but it has taken the long leisure of a six weeks' sea voyage to bring me to the point of deciphering my notes and writing them up for Peace News. So here they are at last as a contribution to the understanding of the military mind.



It appears that the NCO at the Recruiting Office who first took down the usual details regarding my brother's age, with the place and reason of his birth and such-like particulars, was shocked to hear him reply to the question about religion that he had none. This awful admission was at once imparted to the Sergeant-Major, who informed the Colonel. There was a pause and then—according to my notes—the following drama took place:

**COLONEL: Reynolds!**

**SERGEANT-MAJOR:** Reynolds! Come up here... Don't put your hand on the Colonel's desk.

**COLONEL:** What religion are you?

**ROLAND:** I haven't got any religion, sir.

**COLONEL:** Don't talk nonsense. Every man's got a religion. Which are you, Church of England or Roman Catholic, son?

**ROLAND:** I've never been inside a church and couldn't honestly say I was either, sir. I'm told I've got to tell the truth, sir, under a penalty of two years' hard labour. Can't I be put down as an atheist?

**COLONEL:** You've sworn an oath by Almighty God. You can't be an atheist.

**ROLAND:** Well, I'm not interested in religion, sir.

**COLONEL:** You've got to be. When you get to camp they'll parade you for church. What religion are your parents?

**ROLAND:** They're Quakers, sir.

**COLONEL (exploding):** Quakers! You know what Quakers are? They won't fight.

**ROLAND:** Yes, sir, but I'm not a Quaker.

**COLONEL:** There's no doubt about it that you're a Quaker. When you get down to the barrack room you'll tell less educated men than yourself that we told you to be Church of England. You're the type of man who'd spread sedition in the army.

**ROLAND:** That's not the reason I joined the army, sir.

**COLONEL:** I've experienced all kinds of men, but never one as obstinate as you. You've got to make up your mind what religion you're going to be.

**ROLAND:** It's a bit sudden, sir.

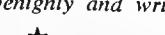
**COLONEL:** There's a service on at St. Martin's now. You'd better go round to satisfy your conscience that you're Church of England. And be ready to tell me when you come back what religion you are.

*Reynolds goes out and has a coffee. Soon after his return he is sent for again by the Colonel.*

**COLONEL:** Well, son—have you decided what your religion is now?

**ROLAND:** Yes, sir; Protestant.

**COLONEL:** That's Church of England. (Smiles benignly and writes it down.)



I doubt if my brother was a great asset to the Army. But while he remained in it he attended Church Parade regularly and no doubt sang "Onward Christian Soldiers" with an ironical smile. He knew perfectly well that if he had stuck to the only religion he knew he would never have been in the Army at all. What amused him as he told me the story, over twenty years ago, was the open hypocrisy by which he was bullied into recanting his atheism, when he regarded it as the justification for his enlistment.

I don't think there is any medal issued to officers for recruiting converts for the Church, but if there is I think the Colonel certainly earned it. And as he was an Army man it would be unreasonable to hold it against him that he began by shooting down truth. How else can you hope to get discipline?

**BOOK THIS CHRISTMAS SHOPPING DATE NOW**

### PEACE NEWS

## Christmas Bazaar and Social

3 p.m. Saturday, Nov. 16, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd. W.C.1

The annual get-together for London and Home Counties readers and their families and friends. Readers everywhere, please send your gifts for sale to help Peace News. Needlework, knitting, arts and crafts, preserves, fruit, vegetables, foodstuffs, sweets, books, fancy goods and gifts, anything useful, white elephants and white mice, gratefully welcomed. Collection arranged where possible in London area.

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## Two S. Africans face London Tribunal

From a Special Correspondent

**T**WO South Africans were before the London Appellate Tribunal on October 14. As British subjects who had been in this country for over two years, they were liable for military service. Their cases had both been heard by Fulham Tribunal but dismissed.

The first to appear was Graham Short, who said he was not an out-and-out pacifist, and yet all the evidence seemed to show that for moral and humanitarian reasons he himself refused to kill and refused to join the army because its prime object was to kill and maim.

### INSTINCTIVE PACIFIST

Nor, as a journalist, had he failed to give his beliefs practical effect, for he was a frequent reporter for Peace News, as a letter from Hugh Brock, the editor, testified. Both Graham's father and his other witness, Mr. Berwick, said that he was an "instinctive pacifist," having always been against any form of cruelty and violence and revolted by police and soldiers. The Tribunal registered him as a conscientious objector on condition he did forestry, land or hospital work for two years and sixty days.



**I**N the case of Lionel Preyser, however, the Tribunal was unwilling to accept his appeal. He had been an Anglican in South Africa, but on coming to this country he was attracted to Jehovah's Witnesses. He was not a pacifist, but on the other hand would not have any part in the politics of this world. In ordering that his name be struck off the Provisional Register of COs, the chairman, Sir Fred Pritchard, pointed out this would have no effect "as you pass out of liability on the third of next month!"

To complete the cosmopolitan atmosphere, Nicolas Conway came before the Tribunal as a student, an attender of a sect which seeks to revive the lost truth of Indian religion. His father had been a CO and had worked on the land, whilst Nicolas himself was a carpenter. Asked if he regarded himself as a Christian he replied:

"I do feel there is a real divinity and something holy in . . . man. It is difficult to find, but if only we could see that truth! It is a terrible thing to kill another man."

### APPEAL DISMISSED

In dismissing the appeal the chairman said that they had been patient and given him plenty of time, but they were "no more able to understand than the Local Tribunal was."

It is, your correspondent supposes, the fate of the unorthodox to have to suffer for the relative novelty of their beliefs.

Also heard by the Tribunal were M. P. Smock, R. Hayzen, M. S. Curtis, W. J. Hemmings, M. F. Shearing, P. D. Cotttingham and C. M. Rolfe, who were registered conditionally, and F. W. Wentworth and P. J. Batten whose appeals were dismissed.

Colchester Friends' Peace Committee and Fellowship of Reconciliation

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## RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

The Christian Church, as such, has throughout history been mainly concerned with matters of doctrine and theological conjecture. The teaching and practice of the gospel which Jesus taught has taken a secondary place. The Church "has not seen the wood for the trees." Fifteen hundred years ago the Church elaborated the doctrine of a righteous or "just" war. The doctrine still holds good. Since then we have had long centuries of "man's inhumanity to man," but war has never been a problem as far as the Church was concerned, except that 1,000 years ago an attempt was made to stop Christians fighting

on Sundays. In the 20th century the Church has been reactionary and evasive and almost invariably has encouraged the nation-states in their wars.

The forgotten side of Christianity is that which tells of a life which was lived and a life to be lived by humans in a God-created family, and of the moral conduct taught by Christ. The Church has remembered what clever people have thought about Christ and has forgotten the quite simple things which Jesus commanded.

Hence we have only half a religion.

Free literature from Wallace Hancock, Secretary, Movement for a Pacifist Church, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

Britain's way to greatness :

## RENOUNCE ATOM BOMB

Pacifists win Northampton debate

By STUART MORRIS

General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union

"**T**HERE is no need for the tellers to count the votes," was the chairman's remark when the audience responded to his request that those in favour of the motion should raise their hands.

By an overwhelming majority the motion "That Britain can only achieve greatness by renouncing the atom bomb" was passed in a lively debate which took place at the Carnegie Hall, Northampton, under the auspices of the Northampton Debating Society.

Only about 12 of the audience of 150 voted against the motion which was proposed by Sybil Morrison, National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, and opposed by Mr. Denzil Freeth, Conservative Member of Parliament for Basingstoke.

Born in 1924, Mr. Freeth joined the RAF in 1943, was commissioned as a pilot, and invalided out in 1946. He returned later to Cambridge University, where he became president of the Union.

### Moral lead

Sybil Morrison and Mr. Freeth agreed that the phrase "atom bomb" should be taken to include all nuclear weapons, and Mr. Freeth subsequently agreed to Sybil Morrison's opening claim that greatness should be seen in terms not of power politics but of moral values.

Sybil Morrison argued that to justify the retention of weapons which all regarded as monstrous because they were deterrents, was to rely on power and not on greatness. Britain had the opportunity of giving the moral lead for which the world waited, and she asked the audience not to be beguiled into believing that they had to choose the lesser of two evils. She urged them by their vote to do the right thing and renounce not only nuclear weapons but war itself.

### Keen discussion

Mr. Freeth based his arguments almost entirely on the deterrent value of nuclear weapons. To renounce them would be a sign of weakness, for it would mean that Britain was letting down her allies, shirking her responsibilities, and relying on the USA for protection. In a world in which there was so much evil it was impossible to see the choice as between black and white. It was no use quoting the Sermon on the Mount in the Kremlin. He did not regard it as immoral for a country to defend itself, and believed that to retain nuclear weapons would prevent the spread of Communism, save the world from the war which nobody wanted, and enable Britain to display her true greatness.

After a keen discussion from the floor, the opposer and proposer summed up, and the chairman, apparently anticipating a close vote, appointed two tellers to check the show of hands. This, however, proved to be quite unnecessary, as the meeting so overwhelmingly agreed with Sybil Morrison that to destroy nuclear weapons was the first step towards any vindication of Britain's claim to be great.

### NORWEGIAN REFUSES TAXES

Norwegian woman pacifist, Johanne M. Bull, has refused to pay one-sixth (i.e., the proportion of the national budget devoted to military expenditure) of her income tax. Although the sum amounted only to 45s., the authorities have seized some of her property as surety.

November 1, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

## HIS £1 A MONTH

WRITES a London reader, sending us his guaranteed £1 a month to the Peace News Fund: "I do hope the target will be reached before Dec. 31.



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Are there other readers who wish that they too had been doing this? £10 now would make up arrears and the remaining £2 could be sent nearer Christmas.

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THE EDITOR

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## CENTRAL AFRICA

Public Meeting

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Chairman: LORD HEMINGFORD

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The Social Democrats were afraid of losing the sympathy of their voters by being too resolute in their attitude. But perhaps they lost votes by their compromises.

From all this the people gained the impression that whoever won the election, things would go on as at present.

Being very sceptical about experiments in socialising industry, the people chose the "lesser evil."

NEXT WEEK: What now for German pacifists?

## Mr. Macmillan comes home

DOUBTLESS the two main subjects for the Eisenhower-Macmillan talks were on the one hand the disarray in which the Western Powers now find themselves in regard to arms development, and on the other the new tense development in the Middle East resulting from the initiatives taken by the US State Department after Britain threw away so much of her influence among the Arab States by the Suez adventure.

Whether the Russian Government, as seemed to be indicated in its letter to the Labour Party, has known more about US and Turkish intentions in regard to Syria than it has seen fit to disclose—whether, for instance, it is true that the US representative, Mr. Henderson, really lost his case of papers—we are apparently not likely to learn, as there have been no special disclosures at UN.

Even as matters stand the position is serious enough. NATO air and naval manoeuvres were scheduled to start yesterday on the south-west coasts of Turkey, while the Turks themselves are to undertake manoeuvres near the borders of Syria and Iraq, as well as on the Mediterranean coast. At the same time there will be manoeuvres by the Bagdad Pact Powers, including Britain, in the Indian Ocean south of Persia. All these manoeuvres will be taking place precisely when there will be Russian army exercises in the Caucasus.

Mr. Macmillan pairs his satisfaction that there is to be extended co-operation—"interdependence instead of independence"—between the US and Britain, with the usual feeble comment that we have to look for on these occasions: that Mr. Gromyko has not given evidence of a desire for co-operation at UN.

The same thing applies equally to the British and US spokesmen.

Russia, however, has repeatedly indicated a desire for co-operation in regard to the dangerous problems of the Middle East. It is the Western statesmen who persistently refuse it. May they abandon the terrible and unnecessary risks of their present attitude before they land us in irretrievable catastrophe.

## The Windscale "mishap"

ACCORDING to Mr. Davey, the Windscale general works manager, the situation on the Friday morning following the heating-up accident was "so ticklish that the Chief Constable of Cumberland was told that a district emergency might arise," because the experts themselves could not foretell the next few hours' developments.

The subsequent survey of the affected area called for day and night work by 50 scientists and process workers who travelled 100,000 miles to check and re-check for radio-activity. They also had the help of Royal Artillery gunners with a fleet of army vehicles.

Yet this was only a "mishap" in the course of carefully organised experiments. No wonder that people in Dorset, where another atomic plant is being built, are worried about the height of the chimneys to be erected.

Maximum safety against such accidents as at Windscale suggests enormous height, but the higher the chimneys, the easier a target the whole plant becomes for enemy bombing; and the new Government pamphlet on nuclear warfare does not say anything about what happens if one of the growing number of these plants gets a hit or a near miss from even a "conventional" bomb, let alone a long-distance H-missile.

Probably, however, it will make little difference which kind scores a hit.

## France wants to be in the running

IT was always to be expected that the silly notion "national prestige" would lead one country after another into the field of nuclear research for military purposes.

Until recently it was thought that France, with so great a load of trouble round her neck, would remain satisfied with the nuclear protection guaranteed to her by the NATO treaty. She has indeed pledged herself to her Euratom partners "not to undertake any nuclear explosions before 1961."

There is no suggestion that she intends to



FRITH

break that pledge, but she has recently asserted her right "to undertake during the intervening period the necessary research towards the making of the bomb," and it is now known that active preparations for the making of atomic bombs are going ahead in France.

As surely as the whole nuclear race for

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## THROUGH THE THOUGHT BARRIER

**READERS** who are following in our columns Sir Stephen King-Hall's endeavour to bring a military audience to examine the possibility of non-violent resistance as a means of defence will wish him well in his efforts.

They are likely to hope, with us, however, that in his forthcoming book on the subject, Sir Stephen will himself have been more successful than appears from his lecture in "crashing through the thought barrier."

Perhaps because of a need for careful presentation of his case in a framework suitable for academic military circles, Sir Stephen has seemed too easily to share the false assumptions that invariably disfigure military thinking.

• His early assumptions about Russia's aggressive intentions are the kind of thing one might look for from Field-Marshal Montgomery.

They leave completely out of account the plausibility—to put it no higher—with which the Russian leadership could represent to the Russian people that they are in serious danger from the capitalist West, and that they had better, therefore, build up their armed strength, and—in traditional military fashion—contrive that all the adjacent states shall be outlying bastions of that strength.

All this doubtless helped to frighten the West into the creation of NATO, but it is only looking at half the problem to see this kind of development as a one-way operation.

★ ★

**SIR STEPHEN** realistically faces the fact that "limited nuclear warfare" can have no validity in the conditions of today; and in our view there is no answer to the case he has made on this point.

Nevertheless, either because of his own saturation in the ways of military thinking, or in seeking to make concessions to the susceptibilities of his audience, Sir Stephen is inclined to look round for ways in which possible shortcomings in non-violence may be made good by violence.

His reference to a possible infusion of guerilla warfare is a case in point.

It is true that for Britain he appears to mention it only to set it aside, but serious thought on this issue needs to be much less perfunctory than this. That the best organised resort to methods of non-violence is likely to break down here and there in violence where a great population is involved is evident.

There is all the difference in the world, however, in facing this fact and making provision to deal with it, and the assumption that there can be resort to non-violent methods accompanied by guerilla warfare, contrived at from a common centre. The whole idea of non-violence would break down in such a case and the enormous psychological power be lost.

★ ★

**WHEN** he concedes that the use of British military force outside this Island may be called for, Sir Stephen, it seems to us, is at sea without a compass.

Perhaps if he could concede that what he calls a "moral pacifist" (one, in our opinion, who tries to think through his problems in terms of a certain consistency in values) might not produce a "cranky series of proposals," he would be able to see the practical weakness of regarding non-violence as merely a new addition to the strategic armoury.

How, for instance, is ETO—the European Treaty Organisation envisaged as replacing NATO—to operate? (Incidentally, has Sir Stephen faced the possibility that the non-violent method might first be called for against US forces rather than against those of the USSR?)

• There can clearly be no place on the Continent of Europe for armed forces from a Britain that has organised itself for non-violent defence.

When he seems to be contemplating the possibility that British troops might be used to prevent the establishment of Communist Governments in France and Italy he has surely lost sight of the whole conception he is trying to establish.

If we have to face the establishment of Communist régimes in France and Italy these are much more likely to arise through constitutional developments in these countries rather than through political coups, and although the consequences are likely to be equally unpleasant, Sir Stephen in his own lecture has surely demonstrated that any attempt to repel them by force of arms would be likely to lead on to the very catastrophe that he is seeking to avert.

The Communist man-handling of constitutional freedoms are essentially the kind of attack that can best be dealt with by non-violent non-co-operation.

Despite the questions we have raised above we feel deeply indebted to Sir Stephen for the verve and spirit he is bringing to the discussion of non-violent resistance. We hope that the members of the Royal United Services Institution in Whitehall will find material for thought in his contributions; certainly, the quality of pacifist thought should gain from them.

military purposes is a sign of madness, France will not be the last country to come to the conclusion that its "prestige" calls for its own manufacture of the means to blow civilisation to smithereens.

## A voice out of Hungary

WE cannot help asking ourselves whether a document that is reported to have been sent out of Budapest has any connection with this heavy insistence on the need for consultation between Soviet Communists and European Social Democrats.

It purports to have been written by a peasant leader named Bibo, a supporter of Nagy before the Russian imposition of the Kadar Government. It was published, in part, in last week's *France Observateur*.

The memorandum insists that even with freedom there would be no possibility of the Hungarian people developing a capitalist régime. They desire to become free from Communism; they have no desire to re-establish capitalism. They would, Bibo says, seek to develop a "Third Way." He makes the suggestion that Russia could very well afford to let Hungary have its freedom if some arrangement could be made for the guarantee of its neutrality. The proposal is specifically separated from the idea of a wide neutralised Central European area, including a unified Germany, as presenting much more difficult problems. All the West might be expected to do would be to agree to the neutralisation of a comparable compensating area, say, Iceland.

What is striking about Bibo's proposals, however, is his insistence that the arrangement would have to carry with it complete freedom of political organisation. We know nothing about the circumstances in which this document was sent out of Budapest, but up to the present there has been no suggestion that Bibo is running the kind of risk that Djilas knew he was facing in Yugoslavia when he sent out the manuscript of his book, "The New Class."

## Civil Defence up to date

A BILL has been prepared by a subcommittee of the US House of Representatives which would aim at putting the whole of the 170 million inhabitants of the United States underground in the case of threatened attack.

The plan for underground shelters for all has the endorsement of the US Naval Radiological Defence Laboratory. After 10 years' research the laboratory is convinced that this is the way to provide an effective defence against nuclear attack.

It would not, of course, save everybody. In a major attack several million people would be killed, for not even the deepest, thickest shelters would be proof against a direct hit.

Earlier proposals for the evacuation of the big towns would require an enormous expenditure on the construction of new (and otherwise useless) roads and bridges since existing roads would be jammed in any sudden exodus.

Mr. Val Petersen, the US Civil Defence Administrator, is reported as approving the underground shelter plan "provided the same money cannot be better spent for offensive weapons." The money is estimated at between \$27,000,000,000 and \$54,000,000,000, that is, between nine to eighteen months of the present rate of US arms expenditure.

Countries with US bases will register a steep drop in the dwindling enthusiasm for NATO if the US deep-shelter plan goes through. Only Sweden, a nation outside NATO, has contemplated such a shelter programme.

\* \* \*

"In this age of all ages we must be prepared to dedicate ourselves to some task of service to our neighbour," said Mr. Butler, British Home Secretary, in his broadcast on CD a month ago.

We have been waiting for someone to ask Mr. Butler three questions:

1. Who is my neighbour?
2. If he is a Russian, can I serve him by joining CD?
3. How would a Russian react to the sentence in the CD Handbook: "There is nothing sinister about CD, any more than there is about a peace-time Navy, Army or Air Force"?

We still think the most important service to our neighbour is to refuse to arm against him.

MR. ha Kenya settled permanent

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Continuing Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "The alternative to the Nuclear Deterrent: Non-violent resistance"

# THE ROLE OF MILITARY FORCE TODAY

*This second instalment of Sir Stephen King-Hall's lecture, given before an audience of high-ranking officers, follows last week's examination of the nature of war and the defence of "the British way of life."*

*Sir Stephen is asking for a high-level inquiry into the possibilities of non-violent resistance as an alternative to military defence. He asked his audience for a completely fresh approach to the problems of defence, involving "breaking through the thought barrier."*

*In this week's instalment he attempts to bring his military audience to a stage where they will be prepared to start thinking about Gandhi's methods of non-violent resistance. We have not felt it right to do other than present our readers with the whole of his argument, much as we disagree with many of his observations. We comment further in our leading article on page four.*

*Sir Stephen goes more fully into this subject in a book which Victor Gollancz is to publish early next year: "Defence in the Nuclear Age."*

**THE** next logical step must be to examine the nature of this attack on our way of life in order to determine what defence arrangements are appropriate to meet it, and we must not forget that an attack of some kind on our part should be incorporated in our defences.

The Soviet attack or menace to our cause is of a two-pronged character. Psychological and military.

## Nature of the attack

I think it can be shown without much doubt that a study of what the Communists have said and what they have done during the past decade fit together very neatly and present us with a picture of Communist strategy which I would summarise as follows:

To make psychological warfare the spearhead of the attack, with military force and the threat to use it as a supporting factor; that is to say, the capacity to use military force is a weapon in the battle of ideas."

The Communists who, from Lenin onwards (I am not sure that Stalin was always sound on this), much prefer not to use military force. They are quite right.

They are trying to get across an idea and they know as well as anyone that in the last resort one cannot use force to convert people permanently.

The Soviet leaders prefer to operate internally in the body politic of their victims...

All this is the technique of the psychiatrist and not the butcher with the pole-axe.

I think we can observe two errors made by the Soviet operators. First, Stalin overdid the threat of military attack, and as a result frightened the West into creating NATO for the specific purpose of repelling an armed attack. So we got the psychological offensive of the B and K peaceful co-existence idea and the Geneva meetings. At the moment this seems to have been abandoned, and the Soviet leaders seem to be switching back to the tough stuff on the basis of the rocket.

The second error—history may show—may have been what they did in Hungary, and I think it possible that the Soviet marshals are to blame for this.

## How to deal with the assault

So we must now consider how to cope with this two-pronged attack of which the more significant and dangerous is the psychological tactic.

I think it will be best if we ask ourselves a question. What, in circumstances such as I have described, is the rôle of military force on the side of the democracies?

There is one simple and obvious duty, which is that there should be sufficient military force in a democratic country to pre-

**"You can't lose a nuclear war, you can't win it; you can only leave as its memorial a civilisation destroyed."**

vent an internal coup d'état by the Communist Party. I do not regard that as a serious danger in Britain, but it cannot be excluded in France and Italy and possibly one day in India.

Is there any rôle for military force in defending us against Soviet psychological attack? Not very much, and it is important to understand why. Put simply, it is this. We cannot use our military force in the same brutal support-way in defence of democratic psychological warfare as the Communists can in support of their warfare. The reason is that in the last resort Communism can be imposed on people whilst democracy cannot. It is difficult for the democracies to use armed force in support of their psychological and economic offensive, which is the proper defence against the Communist psychological and economic offensive...

## Role of military force

We come now to the rôle of military force in defending us against Soviet military attack. Here we can say with reasonable certainty that subject to one condition—and it is of vital importance that the democracies possess military force equal to or superior to that of the Soviet Union—then military force can serve its traditional function of beating off an enemy military aggression.

We will come back to the qualifying condition in a moment. Having considered what military force can do in support of the defence of our way of life, let us now examine what military force we have got and how it measures up to its possible uses.

We will begin with conventional forces. In this department we are markedly inferior to the enemy. We can, however, say with confidence we have enough force for the job of maintaining internal security against a coup d'état. We have admitted that in terms of conventional forces we are unable to hold a conventional Russian attack.

It is not—as a matter of fact in terms of man-power and industrial strength—impossible for Western Europe and the USA to match and even outstrip the conventional forces of the Soviet Union. But the political fact is that the democratic peoples will not pay the price.

On the contrary, NATO shows a progressive falling off from the minimum strength laid down when it was founded and the UK is now leading a new contraction.

## Tactical weapons

We console ourselves—counting me out as one who is consoled—by saying that we will make up for our conventional inferiority by using tactical atomic weapons.

I am going to say quite bluntly that if we start by using tactical weapons the Russians will reply in kind, and it will take a lot to convince me that the tactical weapons will not quickly see-saw up into so-called strategic weapons. This distinction between tactical and strategical nuclear weapons is absolute nonsense, and I am astonished that Service people who ought to know better give currency to it.

It reminds me of an occasion when I was instructed in the Admiralty to prepare a paper proving that a battleship armed with a 15-inch gun was a *defensive* weapon. I wrote a lot of nonsense, and ended up with a remark for which I was put on the mat.

The remark was: "Whether a 15-inch gun is a defensive or offensive weapon entirely depends at which end of it you are standing when the ruddy thing goes off."

You drop your 1 Kiloton nuclear stuff on a Russian formation; they retaliate with 5 Kilotons on your advanced base; you put 10 down on Minsk; they put 20 down on Antwerp and so on, until you get 20 Megatons on London.

Over and above this reinforcement of our conventional forces with tactical (so-called) nuclear weapons, we have the Great Deterrent idea.

It does not seem to be understood that with this idea we have moved from military force into psychological warfare. We aim at creating a thought in the Russian mind which is that there is no point in mutual suicide.

It does not matter theoretically whether or not we have an H-bomb provided the Russians believe we have an H-bomb, and believe that we—*after they have wiped us out*—can wipe them out, and that even the advantage of a surprise attack on us would not save them, and that their target is as vulnerable to an H-bomb as ours is.

I hope and pray the Soviet leaders do believe all this. I suppose it is conceivable they don't, or are we so infected with wishful thinking that we cannot, we dare not, admit they might not believe it?

I think one should make every effort to relate these speculative questions to reasonable estimates of events. Consider the following hypothetical case. There is a rising in East Germany. The stooge government there calls for Russian armed help. The Russian commander fighting in East Berlin says to us:

"This is being organised from West Berlin. I am temporarily occupying W. Berlin with four divisions. I mean no harm to the British, French and Americans. You can either stay in your barracks or have a safe conduct down the autobahn."

## Limited war

What does our C-in-C do? He rings up the governments. What do they do? Does the American President say to the Russians:

"If you do not evacuate W. Berlin in six hours we will open up an all-out nuclear attack on you because this is a major aggression."

And if, with more courtesy than we showed him over Suez, he tells us that he is going to do this, what do we do?

I know what I think our Government would do, but I'm not going to say it.

What would the Russians do? Anticipate the USA ultimatum by two hours with a nuclear attack on American bases and towns—perhaps with rockets, if this episode occurs in 1961?

Retreat from Berlin with a loss of prestige which might bring the Red Empire down in ruins?

Would Hitler have hesitated to use an atom bomb when Berlin was in flames?

Or would the Americans take the matter to the UN and the Russian veto and not think W. Berlin worth a world nuclear war?

The trouble is we are dealing with men in the Kremlin who are not answerable to Russian public opinion. After Khrushchev's revelations at the Twentieth Communist Party meeting can anyone doubt Stalin's dictatorial power, and may not Khrushchev be moving the same way?

Have you considered the possibility that the Russians might have given Nasser three bombers each with an atomic bomb in it?

One for the concentration of the expeditionary force; one for Lyons, and one spare for Tel Aviv, and Nasser had announced that in view of the unprovoked attack on him he would take all measures necessary including nuclear retaliation if all his enemies did not retire within six hours?

Finally, let us suppose a conventional war starts up and it is what some people like to call a limited war (and I don't think it will stay limited—and that's the teaching of history). Who decides to press the nuclear button? The Prime Minister? Where do you keep him and

## Rhodesia's 'European only' cinemas

From BASIL DELAINE

BUSINESSMAN MR. C. TRIVEDY, his wife, and a Mr. Patel decided to go to the cinema the other evening in Salisbury, capital of the "racial partnership" Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The three walked up to the ticket office and asked for seats. They were given tickets and shown to their seats, where they stayed for the first half of the show.

Then it happened. During the interval the manager came and asked them to leave.

"On what grounds are you doing that?" asked an embarrassed Mr. Trivedy.

"Sorry," said the manager, "but this is a European cinema—and you are not European."

The three unhappy Indian patrons looked around to find dozens of European faces look at them, accusingly.

"Why were we issued with tickets, then?" persisted Mr. Trivedy. "It was obvious that we were Indians: my wife is wearing the national dress."

"Please leave my cinema immediately," repeated the manager angrily. "For the last time I tell you it is for Europeans only."

The three people left, their heads held high.

All the cinemas in Southern Rhodesia cities are "European." There are two cinemas—one in Bulawayo the other in Salisbury—at which Coloureds and Indians are accepted.

But even at these they are segregated from the Europeans in an upstairs, back-of-the-house gallery. And certain films are barred to them.

The only truly multi-racial cinema in the Federation is in Lusaka, capital of Northern Rhodesia. It is owned and managed by an Indian. Few Europeans patronise it.

the button? In the Shetlands? Or down a coal mine?

Mr. Lester Pearson said it was an insoluble problem and we ought not to discuss it because it would cause an outbreak of quarrelling among ourselves.

I said that, subject to one condition, military force can serve its traditional function of beating off an enemy military aggression. The conditions is this:

The force needed to be used must not be so destructive that the material and moral disadvantages of its use are on balance greater than the material and moral benefits expected to be achieved by the use of force.

## New fear

Put another way: It's no good burning down the house to roast the pig.

It is my submission that when we get to a stage in the development of armed force which obliges our Minister of Defence to say that the purpose of our armed force is to protect itself so that it can wipe out our enemy immediately after we are wiped out, we are beginning to live in an Alice in Fission-land world in which means and ends are fused into a new element of meaningless content.

Indeed, there is fairly general agreement that armed force has now reached a degree of destructiveness so fearful that its main purpose is not for actual use but for the creation of a climate of opinion based on a great fear. Our armed force (I am not, of course, talking about police operations) is designed to be a fear-inducing machine and fear of a new kind.

In the past armed force has always had this rôle as part of its function, i.e., "I have a big army; you had better look out and not annoy me. I can beat you."

This was the old balance of power which always broke down because the chap who decided not to be afraid and take a chance could always say: "Well the worst that can happen is that I'll lose the war."

The new fear is of a different order of things. There is no second chance. You can't lose a nuclear war; you can't win it; you can only leave as its memorial a civilisation destroyed.

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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to: 1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m. 2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

**Friday, November 1**

**GRAVESEND:** 8 p.m.; St. George's Chapel of Unity, "Children of Hiroshima." With Rev. Lewis MacLachlan and Rev. Basil Huett, FoR.

**HULL:** 8.15 p.m. at 6 Bond St. "Pacifism and the People." Speaker: C. Taylor. All welcome. PPU.

**LONDON, N.13:** 8 p.m., Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Road, N.13. Speaker: Rev. J. Oswald Law, "Practical Points in Peace-Making." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

**Saturday, November 2**

**CROYDON:** 4 to 8 p.m. Adult School Hall, Park Lane. The Eleventh Annual Social. Afternoon: stalls, children's tea party, 7-8 p.m. Musical programme, buffet. PPU Surrey Area.

**LONDON:** 3 p.m.; Mary Ward Settlement, 5 Tavistock Place, W.C.1. Eric Tappell, talk and drawings exhibition. PPU Religion Commission.

**WARRINGTON:** 7.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Buttermarket Street. H-bomb Protest Meeting. Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speaker: Dr. Edith Summerskill, MP. FoR. All welcome.

**Monday, November 4**

**IPSWICH:** 7.15 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Fonnerau Rd., "Facing the Consequences" (1) A Study of Unilateral Disarmament based on the proposal by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and the pamphlet "Unarmed" published by the SJPC.

**LEEDS:** 10.30 a.m.; North-Eastern Local Tribunal for COs will be held at the County Court, Albion Place.

**Wednesday, November 6**

**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m.; Central PPU Group, Hermes Room, 26 Broad Street, 1. Press-letters, Films and Publicity (Programme changed).

**GLASGOW, C.2:** 10.30 a.m.; Scottish Local Tribunal for COs will sit in the Council Room and Room C, Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders, 39 Elmbank Crescent.

**LONDON, S.E.3:** 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd., Kidbrooke. Planning Peace Action in South London. Ronald Malone, BA, and other speakers. Fellowship Party.

**RICHMOND,** Surrey: 7.30 p.m.; 17 Pagoda Avenue, Dr. Mary Wishart, "Helping Refugees in Austria"; John Mawson, "Food Relief in France." IVS.

**Thursday, November 7**

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Speaker: Mr. Brotmacher "Israel Today." PPU E.10 and E.11.

**Saturday/Sunday, November 9/10**

**DERBYSHIRE:** WEEK END CONFERENCE at The Briars, Crick, nr. Matlock. Subject: "Unarmed" (A Study of the Consequences of Unilateral Disarmament by Gt. Britain). All welcome. North and East Midlands Area PPU. Conference Organiser: Frederick Forder, Farm House, Sudbrook, Grantham, Lincs.

**Sunday, November 10**

**LONDON:** 3.30 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by S. E. Parker, "The Art of Living."

**Monday, November 11**

**EDINBURGH:** 11.30 a.m.; Appellate Tribunal will sit at No. 5 Courtroom, Parliament House, Parliament Sq.

**SHIPLEY:** 7.30 p.m.; Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. Shipley Group of PPU.

**Wednesday, November 13**

**NEWCASTLE:** 7 p.m.; St. James's Congregational Church, "All God's Children," Rev. Ralph Bell, FoR.

**Thursday, November 14**

**LIVERPOOL:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Hunter St. (behind Walker Art Gallery). Film: "Children of Hiroshima." Merseyside H-bomb Protest Committee.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6.30 p.m.; 29 Gt. James St. Additional Meeting of London Youth Fellowship of FoR. Speaker: Hildegard Mayr, "The Work of the International FoR." Secretary: Howard Roberts, 7 St. George's Road, Wallington, Surrey. Meeting on November 21 postponed to December 5.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Speaker: Ian Dixon, "Journey to India." PPU E.10 and E.11.

**Saturday, November 16**

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 6.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Ordnance Rd. Speaker: Arlo Tatum, Secretary WRI, "The Pacifist Dilemma." Also Area Meeting at 3 p.m. Southern Area PPU.

**Monday, November 18**

**IPSWICH:** 7.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Fonnerau Rd. "Facing the Consequences" (2) A Study of Unilateral Disarmament based on the proposal by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and the pamphlet "Unarmed" published by the SJPC.

**Wednesday, November 20**

**NEWCASTLE:** 7 p.m.; YMCA, Blackett Street. Rev. Wm. Dagg, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Christian Pacifists and Peace.

**Thursday, November 21**

**ALTON:** 7.30 p.m.; Hillcrest, Windmill Hill. Speaker: Chris Farley, "Non-Violence in History." Alton PPU.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.30 p.m.; PPU, Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

**KIDBROOKE:** 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music. Fellowship Party.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

### FRIDAYS

**BIRMINGHAM:** 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

## HE JOINED IN A BRAVE EXPERIMENT

**By the Editor**

**Escape from Bondage.** The Africa Bureau, London, 2s. 6d.

**THE story of a young man who went to Africa with "an adventurous spirit which we usually associate with exploration or prospecting for gold or diamonds," has been published in booklet form by the Africa Bureau.**

"Escape from Bondage" tells the life of Cedric Wildman, the West of England farm worker who went out to St. Faith's Farm, Southern Rhodesia, to join in the brave experiment in inter-racial co-operation that goes on there.

He was drowned last year at the age of 29 while on holiday in Nyasaland. He had shared five years of his life with the African farm workers of Rusape, trying to make partnership in Central Africa a reality instead of a bluff. He was probably the first white man to serve as a labourer under an African "boss" in Rhodesia.

Cedric Wildman was a member of the Peace Pledge Union, active in the movement in the West of England and one of our readers and correspondents up to the time of his death. It is good, therefore, that the Rev. Michael Scott has been able to use as a preface to "Escape from Bondage" a part of the appreciation which he wrote for Peace News at the time of Cedric Wildman's death.

★

This decision to work at St. Faith's was what one would expect from a signatory to the pledge "I renounce war and will never support or sanction another," for over the past 20 years an unknown number of Peace Pledge Union members have found this pledge compelling them to take up a new way of life.

It was the motivation that led to the founding of the Family Service Units; it was the dynamic behind the Save Europe Now campaign; it provided many fine workers in the fields of probation, mental and social welfare, and in organisations operating in the under-developed areas of

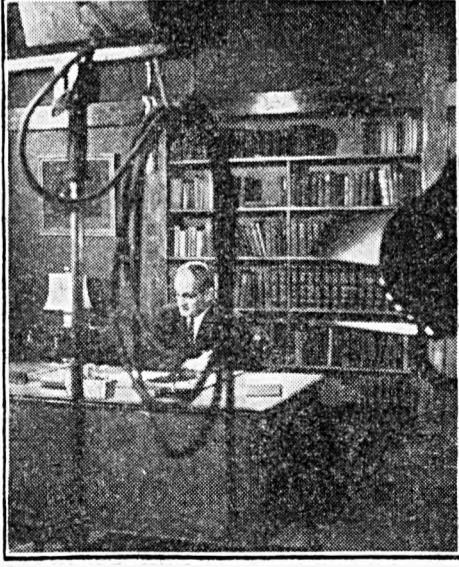
## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

### A gift to the USSR

A MERICAN conscientious objectors have been behind the Heifer Project, an organisation which sends pedigree cattle to farmers in other countries with the twin-object of upgrading milking herds and acting as good neighbours across national frontiers.

I've long wanted to know how fifty-five head of Holstein and Brown Swiss cattle sent to the Soviet Union last year were getting along.

"Just fine," reports Bob Zigler, who



Martin Niemoller in a recent peace film made by the American FoR.

the world. And this is true of the pacifist organisations of other nations.

"He belonged to no religious denomination, although he was closely associated with the Society of Friends. He was a member of the Peace Pledge Union, believing that peace must be created through service, rather than war prevented by arms..."

May these words from "Escape from Bondage" continue to be an epitaph for still more people, known and unknown, whose daily work as well as their leisure time is given to the building of a peaceful world.

## Non-violence in Sicily

**ALFRED TUCKER reviews**

**Danilo Dolci et la Revolution Ouverte**, paper-bound. Published by Desclee de Brouwer. In French.

**THIS** slim symposium in the series "Questions Actuelles" gives an amazing picture of simple active faith in non-violence, which is very slowly overcoming in Sicily the illiteracy, debasing superstitions and passivity of the poor inhabitants. I am specially struck by the almost literal translations from Sicilian of the blunt comments made by two fishermen.

Whilst reading, one is beside them, living the difficult life and taking part in the constructive activities. Aldo Capitini, largely responsible for the centre for the study of non-violence at Perugia, summarises the principles and the realisations of Danilo Dolci. The latter is a tall architect-poet, and his invention of the "strike in reverse" is an admirable example of the power of non-violence.

Many readers will object strongly to the short scrap of theology at the end of the book, but it will at least make them think out their own convictions, and in no way detracts from the real value of this little book now added to the growing library on the practice of positive pacifism.

## PEACE RESEARCH

A call has been made by Ulf Christensen for an international institute for peace research to be set up in Oslo, in association with the university.

November 1, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

## CLASSIFIED Advertisements

**TERMS:** Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

**LATEST TIME** for copy: Monday morning.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

### MEETING

**CONWAY DISCUSSIONS**, South Place Ethical Society. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Tues., 7.15 p.m., Nov. 5. Adrian Pigott, "The Mischief-making Vatican." Adm. free.

**S. PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY**. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Sun., 11 a.m., Nov. 3. E. Royston Pike, "Man's Pursuit of the Millennium." Adm. free.

### ACCOMMODATION

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### LITERATURE

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**THE RAILWAY REVIEW**. The only and best informed, TU newspaper. Trade union and political news; Railway problems and working conditions featured in every issue. Every Friday, 12 pages, price 4d.

### PERSONAL

**THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP** invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicestershire.

**DRUG-LESS REMEDIES???** FLU? CONSTIPATION? NERVES? Only 10s.! Health Center, Adelaide Road, Dublin.

**"HOW TO CURE** your Asthma and Bronchitis." Alec Milne (Edinburgh), Caxton Hall, 7.30 p.m., Monday, November 18. 2s. 6d. London National Health Society.

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**LONDON ILLUSTRATED NEWS**, Paris Match. Life. Old copies of these and similar periodicals carrying pictures of public personalities would be welcomed by Peace News Cartoonist, Howard Mell, 18 Fairfield Avenue, Farsley, Leeds.

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**WAR RESISTERS'** International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

**Dick Sheppard** FROM PAGE ONE

pledge to renounce war and never support or sanction another. Dick Sheppard wanted his headquarters to be near Whitehall, for 'why should the War Office have it all their own way?' he said. From an office in Trafalgar Square he moved to larger premises in Regent Street, and the 100,000 men who had signed the pledge by 1936 were brought into the fellowship of the Peace Pledge Union by being linked in groups all over the country with the worldwide War Resisters' International.

"For the next months Dick Sheppard did not spare himself. Assisted by some of the sponsors he had chosen as advisers, he spent most of his time touring the country with what he called "the circus," speaking several times a week at large public meetings throughout Britain. Everywhere he found packed audiences with whom he shared his deep conviction that war of every kind and for any cause was a denial of Christianity and that pacifism was a necessary expression of the Christian faith.

**Glasgow University**

"It was always a grief to Dick Sheppard that the leaders of the Churches did not insist that war under all circumstances was wrong. So he took a deputation, accompanied by a torchlight procession, to Lambeth Palace to see the Archbishop. He always made it quite clear that there was a warm welcome in the PPU for every sincere pacifist, whatever his other views. But because of the far-reaching consequences of the pledge, he suggested that no one should sign it unless in conscience he could do no other.

"Next came his nomination as a pacifist candidate by undergraduates at Glasgow University, where the election of their Lord Rector took place in October, 1938. Although the other candidates included Winston Churchill, Dick Sheppard was elected by a large majority. He was really thrilled at the result, which, he said, put pacifism on the map, but a fortnight later he died.

NARRATOR: "That must have been a great shock to the movement."

"Yes; the shock was indeed almost overwhelming to a movement which was so much his creation and had hardly learnt to stand on its own feet. But such was his inspiration that no one doubted for a moment that we had to carry on from where he had left off, and the work of the Peace Pledge Union still goes on with its headquarters Dick Sheppard House, London."

**King-Hall** FROM PAGE SIX

I will give you one of many examples I could quote to show how we are thinking at one level or, rather, in one dimension and acting in another.

We are all agreed that we want to convince the Russians we have the means and the will to obliterate them if they obliterate us. Very well. Why then do we keep our hydrogen bomb mechanism a secret? Should we not say to them:

"In case by some dreadful mischance you should doubt our ability to obliterate you by retaliation, is there anything we can tell you or show you to prevent you indulging in delusions such as those expressed by Marshal Verchinin, your Soviet Air Force C-in-C, whose interview in Pravda on September 7 indicated that for reasons he gave, Russia, he thought, could do much more damage to the USA than vice versa in a nuclear exchange."

It would be very unfortunate if the Marshal really believed this—even if it is not true. I wish I knew whether he does. We don't know. But we hope he doesn't believe it!

Why then do we keep our nuclear secrets?

Of course, we keep our nuclear weapons secret because we are thinking conventionally about an unconventional situation. We are on the wrong side of the thought barrier, but we are at the receiving end of wireless signals from the Russian satellite which is circling the globe during this lecture.

Next week Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall deals with non-violent resistance as a means of national defence.

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**FIRST STEPS** FROM PAGE ONE

Navy will be safer to make for sea, thus reversing the old chivalrous idea of women and children first. Indeed, it looks as if decisions involving the destruction of Britain may be taken by a group of generals well below the ground, 70 miles from Washington, or by a group of admirals in an aircraft-carrier or an atomic submarine somewhere in the Arctic Circle.

"All that President Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan can think up in view of these probabilities is a declaration of resounding verbiage about more co-operation in producing more deadly H-bombs and rockets and bigger submarines which the Soviet Government, having concentrated its attention on scientific research and having produced a new and young generation of technologists, can counter with inventions of its own.

**Re-examination**

"Does anyone who knows the facts really think we will be better able to negotiate from strength with Russia, and perhaps China, in 1965 than we are to-day? That is the year, you remind us, when the V-bomber force is due to contribute effectively to the deterrent.

**Ought we not then to re-examine the whole basis of our defence policy that makes Britain one of the main bases in Western strategy? Indeed, are we really entitled to refer to the policies of the White Paper or the Eisenhower-Macmillan declaration as defence?**

"Mr. Khrushchev has made it quite clear that while he thinks capitalism would be destroyed in the event of a third world war, enormous losses would be inflicted on the Communist world too. Why should we not, having a common interest with the Russians in preventing mutual extermination, renew negotiations with them instead of proceeding on the assumption that greater co-operation with the Americans in the futilities of an enormously expensive arms race is the way out of the present impasse in which both the West and the East find themselves?"

**Menuhin may resign**

**YEHUDI MENUHIN**, world famous violinist, has threatened to resign as a patron of the South African International Arts League of Youth because it has a colour bar.

A report from the South African Press Association in Durban said at least seven other celebrities in the art world, including Sir Ralph Richardson, Sir Laurence Olivier, Sir Adrian Boult, Lord Dunsany and Dame Ninette de Valois may follow suit.

Menuhin, writing from Switzerland, has asked the League to invite an Indian artist to the next convention. He said: "This is a test case. Should it prove impossible for the League to include my Indian friend in their invitation, I shall resign."

**The Peace News Hour**

**TWENTY-YEAR-OLD** and 84-year-old Both have earned a mention as supporters of the "Peace News Hour" this week.

Terry Hoops, student at Holloway College, asked the newsagent from whom she buys her Peace News to display an extra copy which she would purchase at the end of the week if unsold.

He is selling it, and now Terry is making the order two copies. It is not a legend that one reader at Oxford worked up a sale of 24 copies before his student days ended.

Many readers are pushing up sales through their newsagent this way. What's your score?

Visit your newsagent this week-end if you have not started him on this mutually satisfactory sales effort.

And now congratulations to 84-year-old Sidney Goode, of Southgate, whose contribution to the Peace News Hour is keeping up a weekly cycle trip (commenced over 20 years ago) distributing ten copies of Peace News in his district.

More "Peace News Hour" stories next week.

By Sybil Morrison

**The rock of pacifism**

"My only regret from the standpoint of St. Paul's Cathedral, was that he (Dick Sheppard) gave so much of his time and energy to The Peace Pledge Union, which, I am bound to say, I thought—and still think—was misconceived and, instead of averting war, was likely to make it more probable by encouraging aggressors to believe they would encounter no effective opposition from this country. That I think was the only difference we ever had, and it was a grief, I am sure, to both of us that neither could convert the other to his point of view."

—Dr. W. R. Matthews. Dean of St. Paul's, October 27, 1957. Broadcast on "Dick Sheppard: The Human Parson".

If Dick Sheppard could not "convert" precipitates it. It has always been argued by Governments that great armaments will prevent war, and yet, though it has never done so, it is still argued that possession of the H-bomb will prevent a nuclear war.

In spite of this belief, discussions are now proceeding as to the best means of guarding against a surprise attack, and men and women all over the country are being urged to train in methods of civil defence against an attack with nuclear weapons.

This precarious reliance upon "effective opposition" has been part of our national life for years, and it is extraordinary that there are still people who have learned no lesson from the facts of the past, and continue to rely upon, and to support these outworn theories.

It could be contended that to "love your enemies" would be merely to lay yourself open to attack.

It could be asserted, as I heard it asserted in debate recently, that it is useless to read the Sermon on the Mount to the Russians.

All these reactions are possible, perhaps even probable, but it is to be hoped that Dr. Matthews does not believe that the Sermon on the Mount is thereby rendered a piece of rhetoric without meaning and with no practical application.

If that teaching is never to be applied for fear of the consequences then it should not be read in Christian Churches, let alone read to the Russians.

Dick Sheppard saw war as an evil that could be overcome only by refusing to take part in it, and though he never deceived himself that 100,000 signatories to the pledge would prevent a war, he believed that when all men and women refused to fight, wars would cease.

It is here that Dr. Matthews joins issue with him, since he is sure that the only way to prevent a war is to be fully and strongly armed, and in this view he was, and is, supported by the Government and the majority of people in this country.

An increase in armaments is precisely the plan that was followed from the advent of Hitler in 1933. "Effective opposition" was the basic reason for the rise in expenditure on armaments in this country from £102,000,000 in 1932 to £406,000,000 in 1938.

In fact effective military opposition did not, and does not prevent war; it very often

wars have been waged, not because pacifists have let it be known that they would not fight, but because war is an accepted method, blessed by Churches, advocated by Governments, for settling differences and attempting to overcome tyranny.

This belief has led on to the greatest tyranny of all: the tyranny of the nuclear weapon. The human race itself is menaced and still there is no one morally brave enough to call a halt.

The members of Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge Union are few, though not so few as those to whom the Sermon on the Mount was preached; whether we be Christian or Jew, agnostic or atheist, we believe, as the founder of our movement believed, that what was preached that day, two thousand years ago, is true, and only good will overcome evil.

To us this is no "misconceived" idea, but a rock upon which we stand, undaunted and undismayed. We hope that Dr. Matthews, whose other words about that great Christian, Dick Sheppard, were deeply appreciated, will, perhaps, think again.

**DISARMAMENT BY EXAMPLE**

A misprint occurred in Frank Allaun's article in Peace News last week. Instead of 650,000 Constituency Labour Party votes supporting unilateral action on the manufacture of H-bombs it appeared as 65,000.

**FELLOWSHIP PARTY PETITION**

The Fellowship Party's petition should be returned at once to Mrs. Mary Corry, 16 Selby Avenue, St. Albans.

**SOPER****ON****HIROSHIMA**

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